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any insolence, even the tearing away of a cross-cousin's veil in public. Insolence always incurs retaliation, and joking frequently gives rise to *tebbillant*, that is a sham-fight. A fight of this kind will normally end with the looding part running away with something belonging to his cousin. He gives this back only if he feels like it, for cross-cousins are allowed to take each other's things. The same type of joking exists between brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law in Ahaggar and in Ayr.

(4) There is avoidance between parents-in-law and children-in-law in the way that a man avoids very strictly his mothers-in-law, a woman very strictly her fathers-in-law. This rule of conduct is valid for all Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr. A man should not talk to his mother-in-law, and must never eat in her presence; he will avoid her tent, and if visiting her camp he will live at a distance of about one hundred metres from her. Similar rules hold for a woman and her father-in-law. Avoidance is less strictly observed between a man and his father-in-law, and there is generally very little avoidance between a woman and her daughter-in-law.

So far we have seen that the Tuareg of Ahaggar and the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr follow the same rules of kinship behaviour. But there seems to be one important distinction between the two Tuareg groups. For in Ayr there is an institutional joking relationship (*adélen*) with the wives of mother's brothers including the spouses of the classificatory mother's brothers. This type of joking is similar to that of cross-cousins. The initiative for joking is taken by the mother's brother's wife who begins to tease her husband's sisters' children even when they are babies. The little children soon learn to retaliate and they quickly become those who take the initiative in joking and teasing. – I do not believe that this type of joking with a mother's brother's wife is practised in Ahaggar. It has been denied by informants, but it may perhaps be practised by members of certain tribes which originate in Ayr wherefrom they have immigrated to Ahaggar. Joking with a mother's brother's wife is also unknown in the *Ifoɣas* tribes of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group. These tribes arrived in Ayr about a hundred years ago from Adraɣ of the Ifoɣas, where Tuareg have no joking relationship with a mother's brother's wife.

(5) We should mention as a characteristic of Tuareg kinship behaviour that it is considered the right of a man to take domestic animals from particular kinsmen.

In Ahaggar a man can take animals from his father, his father's father, his true mother's brothers, from certain classificatory mother's brothers (mother's mother's sister's son; mother's mother's brother, and the latter's son), from his mother's father, who is not a classificatory mother's brother by name, but it is said that he is much like a mother's brother to the person in question. In addition, cross-cousins, as mentioned above, can take each other's property.

In Ayr it is said that apart from his right to take domestic animals from his cross-cousins a man can also take animals from his parents and his true mother's brothers, though not allowed to take them from any of his classificatory mother's brothers.

I have enquired particularly among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr about this right to take animals from kinsmen. They said that if a man wants to take animals from a kinsman it is necessary for him to inform the "victim" about it through a third person shortly after he has done so. If he does not mention to somebody else that he has taken animals from one of his kinsmen, the act is considered a kind of ordinary theft. But if the "victim" is informed about the matter shortly after the animals have been taken, he can generally not complain about it, as this is considered very poor behaviour.

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582 In case of cross-cousins of different sex, the difference in age does not seem to diminish joking
604 between them, and it is most interesting that the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg have an institutional joking
606 relationship in the case of a mother's brother's wife (cf. p. 455). This joking relationship, like that between cross-cousins and in-laws of the same generation, is definitely also a relationship of great friendship, and it has a very particular function in connection with cross-cousin marriage. For if a man marries the cross-cousin who is considered the best possible spouse, namely his mother's brother's daughter, it is evident that mother's brother's wife with whom he has a relationship of intense joking will become his mother-in-law. In other words:— When a man marries according to traditional rules he will acquire a reciprocal avoidance relationship to a woman with whom he had intense joking until marriage. So it seems as if joking between a man and his mother's brother's wife serves the purpose of preventing conflicts and creating a bond of friendship between a man and his future mother-in-law.
606 It can be added that the relationship between a man and his mother-in-law is normally one of great friendship, though they very often avoid each other to the extent that they never speak together. A son-in-law and a mother-in-law will frequently exchange gifts during visits to each others' camps, but will generally avoid each other in the way that a man visiting his mother-in-law's camp will stay at a distance of up to a hundred metres from her tent. The relationship of avoidance is somewhat different in case son-in-law and mother-in-law live together in the same camp, though they will always avoid each other to the extent that they talk extremely little to one another and never eat in each other's presence.

602 Joking and avoidance between Tuareg in-laws no doubt constitute a fixed system of behaviour
582 adapted to a particular marriage type, namely that with a cross-cousin – ideally with a mother's brother's daughter. If a man marries a woman with whom he has no blood relationship he will practise joking with his brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, and avoidance towards his parents-in-law. His behaviour towards all these in-laws will not differ from that he would adopt towards his in-laws if he were married to a cross-cousin. But if a man marries a kinswoman who is not his cross-cousin he will not always obtain relationships of joking and avoidance towards all in-laws. To illustrate this I mention the following examples from the Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group:—

(1) If a man marries the daughter of a true cross-cousin he will not achieve any joking relations with his brothers and sisters-in-law. He will not avoid a cross-cousin who is his parent-in-law, but he will cease to joke with him or her. The same rule is probably valid for the cross-cousin's spouse, who will be a classificatory brother-in-law or a sister-in-law.

(2) If a man marries a daughter of a classificatory cross-cousin he may joke with his brothers and sisters-in-law, but there will be no avoidance relationships in regard to the parents-in-law.

(3) If a man marries the daughter of a classificatory child or a classificatory sister's child there will be joking with his brothers and sisters-in-law. I assume that in this case there will also be avoidance between a man and his parents-in-law.

(4) If a man marries a mother's sister's daughter or her daughter there will be no joking with his true brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, but there will be some avoidance towards the parents-in-law.

Joking, and to some extent also avoidance, are modes of behaviour which are particularly adapted
000 to cross-cousin marriage, or to marriages with foreign women. The same is perhaps the case with

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582 p. 168 ff.). I do not want to judge this theory as I have little personal knowledge of the North African
583 Arabs who practise marriage with a paternal cousin. However, the argument that one of the chief
[170] functions of the bride-wealth is the confirmation of the social position of the children of a marriage,
seems also valid for bride-wealth customs among people who practise preferential paternal cousin
marriage, for it is clear that should a man marry a father's brother's daughter she will not have to
change her social group after marriage. Furthermore, the fathers of the groom and the bride are
brothers who among North African Arabs may own livestock and other types of property in
common.

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582 Tuareg cross-cousin marriage is symetrical, but the very best cross-cousin to marry is the true
604 mother's brother's daughter. This would seem to agree with the very close relationship between a
613 man and his mother's brother of the same matrilineage. A man has succession rights after his mother's
brother, and many Tuareg say that the relationship between sister's son and mother's brother is as
close as that between father and son. A man should do his outmost to defend his mother's brother,
and it is very likely that marriage with a mother's brother's daughter has as its chief function the
reinforcement of the matrilineage. It can here be added that marriage with a mother's brother's
daughter will not easily lead to quarrels between the families of the married couple, because the fathers
of the groom and the bride are cross-cousins and/or brothers-in-law, and consequently there is an
institutional joking relationship between them.

We should perhaps explain Tuareg marriage with a mother's brother's daughter in the light of its importance for the reinforcement and maintenance of the matrilineage which has important social functions in Tuareg society. However, this marriage type does not exempt the groom or his family from paying bride-wealth.

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[170] It is interesting to note that among the South African Bantu, who give bride-wealth (*lobola*) at a
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606 marriage, the groom is expected to assist his parents-in-law whenever they need his help (Krige 1937, p. 113). This is also so among the Tuareg who claim that parents-in-law and sons-in-law should always support each other even if they be in-laws of dissolved marriages from which bride-wealth has not been claimed back. Indeed, some Tuareg consider it a very good thing to have contracted several marriages and thus to have obtained many in-laws who are expected to assist their son-in-law when he needs their help.

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582 Finally, I add the statement of some Ahaggar Tuareg that bride-wealth payment is often considered
583 less essential where a man has married a maternal cousin or her daughter because in that event husband and wife are maternal relatives who, in case maternal cousin marriage is practised within their families, may be closely related also in the paternal line.

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588 Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr the marriage is ratified by representatives of the groom and the bride
[293] before an *Anesiem*, that is to say a marabut. This may take place on the first day of the wedding ceremony, but it may as well be done days, weeks, or even months before the wedding takes place. The parents of the groom and the bride may have the marriage ratified even though their children do not want to be married. The wedding ceremonies in Ahaggar and Ayr differ slightly, but they are no doubt functionally identical.

In Ahaggar the marriage ceremony is briefly as follows:—